

Weekly National Intelligencer.

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Weekly National Intelligencer.

By GALES & SEATON. JAMES C. WELLING, ASSOCIATE EDITOR.

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Mr. Blair held to

" UNPRACTICAL DISSENSIONS."

The Boston Daily Advertiser, in commenting or certain dissensions which have arisen among the loyal supporters of the Government in Maryland. and after expressing the opinion that these dissensions, notwithstanding the heat that has been en gendered by the friction of adverse organizations, relate to differences which are more theoretical than practical, proceeds to remark as follows:

"This singularly unpractical quarrel, over a matter which is fa-t ceasing to be worth quarrelling about, is not unlike the greater disputes which divide many true friends of the Union. The controversy still goes on as to the legal grounds of emancipation, the effect of the proclamation and its authority. Meanwhile, however, slavery itself is perishing by no slow process. The proclamation is a dead letter and accomplishes the freedom of no slave—says one; but mean time, by the attrition of war, the system against which the proclamation is directed is crumbling away.
The right of the in-urgent States to maintain slavery after the return of peace is a theme of constant discussion with another; and yet, as affairs now go, there will soon be no slaves to be kept in slavery. 'While we sleep the grass grows.' While the h yal are discussing such points—one would say out of pure love of abstractions—the great question of the time is settling itself. The inevitable match of tion of the time is settling itself. The inevitable march of events is taking away from among us the subject of our chief controversies, and disposing of the vast problem, at which human power stumbles and falls, in such form as suits the great designs of an all-wise Providence."

There is a great deal of truth and philosophy in this view, and if all the professed friends of the Government in the present crisis were as discreet and moderate as the Advertiser, we presume there would be little occasion for fruitless dissensions about "unpractical questions" relating to "the proclamation of freedom" or "the legal grounds the content of emancipation." So entirely do we share this opinion that some months ago-it was on the 18th of last March-we referred to this difficult and vexatious topic of controversy in the following

"It distinctly appears that whatever injury the institution of stavery shall receive in the war, it will be an in-jury resulting from the actual havor of military operaor from the shock of arms disturbing for a time the social arrangements of every community whose soil is made the theatre of conflict. And since anti-slavery organs like the New York Tribune have come to adopt the yews consistently entertained on this topic by conserva-tive journal is. it becomes a question with the latter equally with the former whether the so-called 'proclamatary despotsm.

It will be seen that, like every man having strong of difference or of controversy between those who slike profess to uphold the Government in the present crisis. In fact, the 'proclamation' has not been found to be any thing more than a dead letter, and as such it has been buried out of sight by the actualities of the vivid strugglin which the country is engaged. If, in the estimation of those who were the original friends of the 'new policy,' the country derives from it no aid in prosecuting the warr, let not its engaged as seek to endow it with an imaginary let not its epponents seek to endow it with an imaginary vitality merely for the sake of embarrassing the Govern-ment. A 'war measure' which has proved so inoperative and void needs only to be combatted on the ground of the theoretical principles which it impugne, for it creates no issue outside of political and constitutional polemica."

But when it is attempted to convert the "pr elamation of freedom" from a means into an end. and when political theorists like Mr. Whiting would endow it with vitality only for the purpose of waging in its name a war against the Constitution and the Union, it is evident that those who were ready with us to pretermit the discussion of an "uppractical topic" can no longer ignore the new and very practical issues which it is sought to spring upon the country under the cover tend to accumulate insuperable obstacles in the tion has already done immense damage to the na- the investigation of such questions. tional cause, by endowing the insurgents with fresh arguments for "firing the Southern heart" and new motives for persisting in the conflict, since, at the worst, they can be no more than subjugateda prospect which is the best that the revolutionary theory has to offer to the entire people of the by Mr. Sumner in the following terms: South, without regard to their personal or individual opinions in the past or their engagements for the future.

The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, in publishing, as it did, the whole of Mr. Solicitor Whiting's letter upon the "conditions of re-union," accompanied it with the following suggestion :

"If there is a man in the Confederacy in favor of the reconstruct on of the Union, let him read this letter and see his doom. State lines are to be obliterated, Staterights ignored, public and private property and interest swept away, the men of the South, rich and poor, with their wives and little ones, are to be made the servant of

Now, we hold that any theory of action which thus puts arguments into the mouths of Southern disunionists and places weapons in their hands, is a theory which becomes terribly practical, and which the friends of the Union are called by every consideration of duty to deplore, and, deploring, to resist by all means in their power.

THE CONNECTICUT TOWN ELECTIONS.

The Hartford Times says: "So far as we have received returns, the Democrats have done well in the town elections, better than in any fall for the past eight years." The Times, in its issue of Wednesday, states the results in ninety-three towns, of which fifty have gone Democratic and forty-three Republican. The New Haven Palladium claims fifty-five towns for the Republicans out of one hundred towns heard from

THE VINTAGE IN FRANCE.

From the Paris Constitutionnel we learn that the vic tage in France, "now pearly over in the south, proceeding briskly in the central departments, and about shortly to average as regards quantity, and superior in quality to that of last year. Before 1848 the wine profiled in France was estimated at forty million hectolitres. It is said to be now fifty millions. According to the Constitutional, although the different treaties of commerces concluded since 1860 have greatly enquaraged the vine grower, they have not yet much enlarged his sale for foreign markets. commece in the environs of Paris." promises to be a good R. S. P. Cualus Bourter, or the Louise

MR. SUMNER'S ARGUMENT.

The reader of the eloquent speech delivered by Postmaster General Blair, at the meeting held at Rockville on the 31st ultimo, will remember that large portion of it was directed to the condemnation of an article which appeared in the last number of the Atlantic Monthly. He signalized the paper as having struck "the key-note of dead. If a worse than Oriental plague should tain. This he discovers in that clause of the revolution"-that is, the "sheer abolition of State Constitutions in the region suffering under the

Mr. Blair held that "the article in the Atlantic Monthly may justly be quoted as the programme of the movement. It presents," he adds, "the issue on which the Abolition party has resolved to rest its hopes of setting up its domination in this country," and to this "programme" he placed in opposition "that which is presented by President Lincoln."

It is known to our readers that the article which is thus arraigned by a member of the President's Cabinet proceeds from Mr. Sumner, the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts. Mr. Blair represents that there is a grave dissidence between the Senator and the President on this point, and that the former has directly arrayed himself against the latter on a question of fundamental policy in the conduct of the war.

That there is a direct antagonism between the programme of Mr. Sumner and that of the President will be denied by none. Indeed, Mr. Sumner opens his article with a strong protest against the policy hitherto pursued by the President in the civil management of the districts reclaimed from the power of the insurgents. He arraigns that policy in the following terms:

" Four Military Governors have been already appointed one for Tepnessee, one for South Carolina, one for North Carolina, and the other for Louisiana. Fo far as is known ernors, all deriving their authority from one cource, ruling a population amounting to upwards of nine millions. And this imperatorial dominion, indefinite in extent, will also be indefinite in duration; for if, under the Constitution and laws, it be proper to constitute such Governors, it is clear that they may be continued without regard to time for years, if you please, as well as for weeks—and the whole region which they are called to sway will be a miliwhole region which they are called to away will be a mili-tary empire, with all the powers, executive, legislative, and even judicial, derived from one man in Washington. Talk of the 'one man power.' Here it is with a veng-ance. Talk of military rule. Here it is, in the name of a Republic. The bare statement of this case may put us on our guard. We may well hesitate to organize a single State under a military government, when we see where such a atep will lead. If you approve one you must approve all, and the National Government may crystallize into a mili-

imaginary in a time of war, any more than in a time of peace, bound to support "the Administration in its measures and in all its departments," and he gives proof of the faith that is in him by impeaching an important part of the political and military conduct of the President.

We do not arraign him for thus opposing the Administration in a matter where he dissents, and we are sure honestly dissents, from the course of the President. It is his right as a citizen of the United States to canvass all the measures of the President, and to bring them, as he does in this article, to the test of "reason and expediency," as are the words of Chief Justice Marshall:

"In adopting this principle, I follow the authority of the President he was giving any "aid opinions, and, if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the positions or policy of the President he was giving any "aid opinions, and, if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the positions or policy of the President he was giving any "aid opinions, and, if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the president he was giving any "aid opinions, and if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the president he was giving any "aid opinions, and if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the president he was giving any "aid opinions, and if taken in connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy," though this was a charge orable manner in which he discharged his representation of the president has a charge or connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy, and the president has a charge or connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy, and the president has a charge or connexion with the honor or comfort to the enemy, and the president has a charge or connexion with the honor or connexion which he discharged his representation or connexion which has a charge or connexion which he discharged his representation he understands them. And his right under this of this proclamation. For these new issues, if head is neither more nor less than that of every once engrafted on the policy of the war, would other American freeman, however inferior the great mass of the President's countrymen may be to way of restoring the Union, as their very sugges. Mr. Sumner in the learning which they bring to

> But, as on this question we sustain the policy of the President against the attacks of Mr. Sumner, we propose in a few words to give some of the reasons why we feel it our duty to do so.

The substance of the theory he advocates is stated

"It is enough, that, for the time being, and in the absence of a loyal Government, they [the 'Rebel States'] can take no part and perform no function in the Union, so that they cannot be recognised by the National Government. The reason is plain. There are in these States no local functionaries bound by constitutional eaths, so that, in fact, there are no constitutional functionaries; and since in fact, there are no constitutional functionaries; and since the State Government is necessarily composed of such functionaries, there can be no State Government. Thus, for instance, in South Carolina, Pickens and his associates may call themselves the Governor and Legislature, and in Virginia, Letcher and his associates may call themselves Governor and Legislature; but we cannot recognise them as such. Therefore, to all pretensions in behalf of State Governments in the rebel States. I oppose the simple fact that for the time being no such Governments exist. The that for the time being no such Governments exist. The broad spaces once occupied by those Governments are now abandoned and vacated. And the whole rebel region, now abandoned and vacated. And the whole rebel region, deprived of all local government, lapses under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, precisely as any other territory; or, in other words, the lifting of the local governments leaves the whole vast region without any other government than Congress, unless the President should undertake to govern it by military power. Starting as this proposition may seem, especially to all who believe that 'there is a divinity that doth bedge' a State, hardly less than a king, it will appear, on careful consideration, to be as well founded in the Constitution as it is simple and natural, while it affords an easy and constitutional solution to our present embarrassment

Now, we conceive that all that Mr. Sumner says about "State Governments" in the insurgent districts may be admitted without involving the conclusion which he reaches as to the States thems selves. Whoever assails the Union is a traitor personally and individually, and when the authorities of a State Government take up arms against the Union it is not necessarily the State which is in rebellion, but a body of treasonable individuals, whose act does not destroy the rights or alter the position or annul the existence of the State. This latter still remains, in contemplation

is either the cause or the effect of a confusion of

sworn to support a Constitution alien to the Constitution of the United States, have ceased to exist dries up completely the fountain of power which de facto. The functionaries of these Governments Mr. Sumner seeks to find in the jus belli. are civilly dead, but for all this the State is not It is left to consider the only remaining four

ner was first broached in the Senate of the United States :

"A destruction as sudden as that which fell upon the hosts of Sennacherib might befall Governor Mergan, all the State officers, and all the members of the Legislature, and yet the State of New York would continue to be. One-half or nine-tenths of the people might be carried off by a pestilence, and yet the remainder would constitute the State of New York. Nay, a foreign conquest might disperse the Government at Albany, and prevent the people from assembling in any mode for a considerable time, and yet the State of New York would revive as soon as the conqueror withdrew. Nothing short of a perpetual subjugation, or the entire merger of the political society subjugation, or the entire merger of the political soon another, would destroy the existence of the State.' There is but one way in which a State mry be

erminated "under the Constitution," and that is by the joint consent of Congress and the Legislature of the State or States concerned. Delaware, for instance, which is a State of the Union, might merge itself into Pennsylvania, another State of the Union, by act of Congress and of the two State Legislatures, and there would be thereafter no State of Delaware; its existence as a State would be terminated. We know of no other way in which a State can be constitutionally extinguished.

And here we might rest our argument. For, if this position be well taken, it leaves Mr. Sumner no ground on which to base his theory. But let us look more particularly to what he calls the "sources of Congressional power" over the whole insurgent district, for the organization of civil governments within it on the ruins of the States He finds the well-heads of this immense power in three fountains, generous and hospitable," existing "in the Constitution ready for the occa that these sources, instead of being exuberant ner has made the most that can be made of them. nothing up. Let us examine them.

He derives his first inference in favor of this case." He says :

"Ex necessitate rei, Congress must have jurisdiction over every portion of the United States where there is no other Government; and since in the present case there is no other Government, the whole region falls within the jurisdiction of Congress. This jurisdiction is incident, if you please, to that guardianship and emment domain which belong to the United States with regard to all its whole broad rebel region is tabula rasa or 'a clean slate,'
where Congress, under the Constitution of the United
States, may write the laws."

petitio principii. It begs the very question in he cites in defence of his principle, when he immediately proceeds to say :

are the words of Chief Justice Marshall:

"'Perhaps the power of governing a Territory belonging to the United States, which has not, by becoming a State, acquired the means of self-government, may result necessarily from the facts that it is not within the jurisdiction of any particular State, and is within the power and jurisdiction of the United States. The right to govern may be the natural consequence of the right to acquire territory."

Now, who does not perceive that this doctaine belonging to the United States which has not become a State? But the whole territory within which the insurrection now temporarily prevails has been once partitioned into States, and the question at issue is, whether these States have ceased, in law or fact, to exist, because the State Governments are, for the time being, suspended and disturbed? The whole insurgent territory will be found elsewhere in to-day's paper. lies "within the jurisdiction of particular States." and is, therefore, excepted from the scope of this judicial dictum, which, moreover, as Mr. Sumner is aware, had reference when originally uttered by Judge Marshall to the single question then pending before the Supreme Court.

The second source of the power ascribed by Mr. Sumner to Congress for the civil government of the insurgent territory is found in the "rights of wor." To this effect he says :

"They are the powers conceded by civilized society to nations at war, known as the rights of war, at once multituding us and minute, wast and various. It would be strarge if Congress could organize armies and navies to conquer, and could not also organize governments to protect. De Tocqueville, who saw our institutions with so keen an eye, remarked, that, since, in spite of all political fintions, the preponderating many availed in the State fictions, the preponderating power resided in the State Governments, and not in the National Government, a civil war here 'would be nothing but a foreign war in dis-guise.' Of course the natural consequence would be to give the National Government in such a civil war all the rights which it would have in a foreign war."

To this position of Mr. Sumner we oppose the cogent argumentation of Judge Sprague, of the United States District Court sitting at Boston when called to treat this very question, considered as one growing out of the jurisdiction exercised by the United States, jure belli, in cases arising under admiralty law. In the case of the Amy Warwick, Judge Sprague said:

"It has been supposed that if the Government have the rights of a belligerent, then, after the rebellion is suppressed, it will have the rights of conquest; that a State and its inhabitants may be permanently divested of all political privileges and treated as foreign territory acquired by arms. This is an error—a grave and dangerous error. Conquest of a foreign country gives absolute and unlimited sovereign country gives absolute and unlimited sovereign rights. But no nation ever makes such a conquest of its own territory. If a hostile Power, either from without or within a nation, takes possession and holds absolute dominion over any portion of its territory, and the nation by lorce of arms expels or overthrows the enemy, and supplied to the serent district, of which that a speech followed the serent to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the serent to for granted that a speech followed the serent to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the serent to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the serent to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compliant to for granted that a speech followed the compli

terms. It is not denied that, in the eye of the Constitution, the State Governments of the Second States, as at present administered by men present hostilities, it acquires no new title, but merely regains the possession of which it had been temperarily deprived. The nation acquires no new sovereignty, but merely to maintain its previous rights."

This logic seems to us unanswerable, and

sweep away all the officials of the State Government Constitution which provides that "the United of Delaware, it would not be pretended that the States shall guaranty to every State in this Unio State of Delaware had thereby become extinct, a republican form of government and shall prothough the catastrophe might involve the necessity teet each of them sgainst invasion." But does of resorting ab integra to the primary source of all not Mr. Sumner perceive that this very clause expolitical power for the purpose of re-installing a cludes his whole theory by rendering it impossible State Government. As was well said by the New How can Congress guaranty to "every State in York Evening Post when the theory of Mr. Sum- this Union a republican form of government, when, according to Mr. Sumner's views, certain States have ceased to exist as States? This clause of the Constitution, if nothing else were found in that instrument, would be fatal to his doctrine. And let us listen to Mr. Madison's exposition of this clause in the 43d number of the Federalist. He there says:

> "It may possibly be asked what need there could be such a precaution, and whether it may not become a pre-tex: for alterations in the State Governments without th concurrence of the States themselves. These questions admit of ready answers. If the interposition of the General Government should not be needed the provision for such an event will be a harmless superfluity only in the Consti tution. But who can say what experiments may be pro-duced by the caprice of particular States, by the ambition of enterprising leaders, or by the intrigues and influence of foreign Powers? To the second question it may be an swered that if the General Government should interpose by virtue of this constitutional authority it will be of course bound to pursue the authority. But the authority extends no farther than to a guaranty of a republican form of go vernment, WHICH SUPPOSES A PRE-EXISTING GOVERN-MENT OF THE FORM WHICH IS TO BE GUARANTIED."

Could any language be more explicit or more conclusive against the purpose for which Mr Summer has cited this provision of the Constitution The text and the comment are alike plain. And vet it is of sources such as this and the two previously indicated that the distinguished Senator

"In reviewing these three sources of power, I know not which is most complete. Either would be ample alone; but the three together are three times ample. Thus, out of this triple fountain, or, if y u please, by this triple cord, do I vindicate the power of Congress over the vacated rebel States."

We are very willing to let the decision of this question turn on any one or all three of these consion." We think it will not be difficult to show siderations. And we may be sure that Mr. Sumfountains, are really empty wells, into which Mr. If he has failed, as we conceive he has, to find in Summer has thrown his polished bucket and drawn any one, or in all three combined, the slightest stated that for a season he had abstained from exingenuity on his part, but because of the intrinsic war was justly commenced on the part of the Pre-Congressional power from "the necessity of the difficulties of the theory itself, which does not admit sident of the United States," and he added that of successful defence, even in his skillful hands.

MARYLAND POLITICS.

As Maryland is the parent State from whose side the District of Columbia was taken, we naturally feel a more vivid and immediate interest in favor of supplies for the war" had been construed by when the local government ceases to exist It can be her political affairs than in those of any other the President and his friends into "an approval questioned only in the name of the local government; but State, and therefore bestow upon them a larger of his conduct in the commencement of it, and of the jurisdiction of Congress is uninterrupted there. The whole broad rebel region is tabula rasa or 'a clean state.' will find in another part of to-day's Intelligencer a fore men who might otherwise have been willing copy of the address issued by the Hon. CHARLES to remain silent were "compelled in justice to Now, with all respect to the distinguished B. CALVERT, on able, independent, and efficient themselves to speak out and prevent, if possible. Senator, we submit that this proposition is a mere member of the last House of Representatives, an- this kind of misrepresentation." He thereupon nouncing himself to the voters of the Fifth Con-proceeded to criticise, with much severity, the dispute. This will be apparent from the authority gressional District of Maryland as a candidate for statements contained in the message of President re-election. Like all that proceeds from Mr. Cal- Polk as communicated to Congress, without seem fidence of all in the district who wish to combine the war in their Representative the quality of indepenof Chief Justice Marshall applies only to territory to the maintenance of the rightful authority of the duty as a patriot to address the President in the Government over the Insurgent States.

It is known that Mr. Calvert has two competi-"Union Convention" lately assembled at Bladens- 156: burg, and the other being a nominee of the Democratic party. A respectful petition addressed by the latter to the President of the United States

GENERAL McCLELLAN.

A letter from the army of the Potomac says that for one days an address has been widely circulated through the army, soliciting a ten ceut subscription for a memorial of esteem to be presented to Mej. Gen. McClellan. Parties who subscribed had their money returned to them sesterday, and were informed that the design had been -handoned.

The appeared circular explains the matter. The sul scription, it is stated, " was almost universal in the army of the Potomac, but the pressure from the War Depart ment was so strong against it that it had to be suspended Gen. Meade beaded the list with twenty dollars, a hand

some subscription."

The object of the proposed testimonial from the army of the Potousac to Major General McClellan having been misconstrued, and the proceeding being considered as contrary to army regulations, it is deemed proper, for these reasons, by many who have united in it, to proceed no further in the matter.

By the way, we, in common with our contemporarie blished on Wednesday a telegraphic despatch from Phila. delphia, stating that Gen. McClellan had arrived in that city on a visit to his mother, and was complimented with serenade on Tuesday night, for which he returned his thanks in a peat address. Our readers will please to so far correct that despatch as to omit the "nest address," as we perceive by the Philadelphia papers that the General was absent from his mother's residence at the time of the screnade, of which fact she duly informed his friends. The reporter, we suppose, hearing of the screnade, took it for granted that a speech followed the compliment.

GENERALS IN THE NEXT CONGRESS.

The following-named officers will, it is stated, leave th United States House of Representatives: Gen. Robert C. Schenck, third district, Ohio; Gen. John A Garfield, ninetenth district, Ohio; Gen. Ebenezer Damont, sixth distriet, Indiana; Gen. Green Clay Smith, sixth district. Kentucky: Gen. Ben. F. Loan, seventh district, Missouri

POLITICAL DUTY IN A TIME OF WAR.

It is common to hear it said in the political disussions of the present time that it is the duty of all true patriots to postpone discussions which imply or raise a question as to the expediency or constitutionality of any measure which may be adopted by the Administration for the purpose of " putting down the rebellion." We are told that every blow struck at the measures of the Administration, though designed, it may be, to effect only a change of policy, really in its effect affords practical aid and comfort to the insurgents. There should be, therefore, an unhesitating and an unquestioning acquiescence in the rightfulness and in the expediency of any and every measure which may have. or appear to have, the sanction of the Executiveit being understood that this republican domestication of the maxim that the President can do no wrong is only constructively and temporarily true, being limited in point of fact by the consideration that he may actually commit mistakes, but no body should say so, and being bounded in point of time by the admission that this implied deference to the initiative of our rulers is to last only so long as the insurrection lasts. When the war is at an end, the nation, it is said, may again safely resume the habit of political investigation and discussion.

We have never argued against this theory of civil duty. It does not rise to the height of any thing like argument, for those who hold it betray a servility or an indifferentism which proves them lacking in the first elements of political manhood. Political manhood consists in proving all things and holding fast to that which is good-not giving rise to vain janglings and contentions which minister only to strife, but exercising that intelligent and thoughtful and candid inquiry which becomes all good citizens of a Republic, who, as sharers in the common weal, cannot lawfully shirk the respon sibility with which they are invested any more than their rulers

As those who accept this doctrine of political quietism in a time of storm and pressure are men who will be more influenced by example than by precept, we take the liberty of recalling for their admonition the precedent set by President LINCOLN when, as a member of Congress during the war with Mexico, he was called to sit in judgment on the acts of the Executive during a time of war.

In a speech delivered in the House of Represen tatives on the 12th of January, 1848, Mr. Lincoln support for his theory, it has been from no want of pressing any opinion "as to whether or not the he would have continued to do so "were it not that the President himself and some of his friends would not permit those to be silent who wished to be so upon that question." Mr. Lincoln then proceeded to explain that "every silent vote given in vert, this letter will be found to bear the marks of ing to be aware that in controverting the positions sentative functions during the last Congress, will all dissentients from the dominant policy of the go far to establish his claim to the continued con- Administration then charged with the conduct of

Instead of following blindly the lead of the dence with a firm and unswerving support of the Administration of President Polk in a time of Government in all constitutional measures looking war. Mr. LINCOLN rather conceived it to be his subjoined style of eloquent adjuration and indignant protest. We quote from the Congressional tors—one supported as the candidate of a so-called Globe of the first session Thirtieth Congress, page

> "He (Mr. I INCOLN) now declared here, that if by party zeal, if by listening to representations which were erroncous, he had been induced to suppose what was not true in relation to this Mexican settlement east of the Rich Grande; if the President would come forward frankly and give them facts, not arguments, remembering that he sits where Washington sat, and answering as Washington would have answered—remembering that a nation should not be evaded, that the almighty would not be—and would show that be sent the army among a people acknowledging allegiance to us on the eastern bank of the Rio Grande—if he would show this by facts, he (Mr L.) would be most happy to reverse his vote. He would go the other way-would go with him.

"But if he could not, or would not : if on any pretence or no pretence he refused to do it, he (Mr. L.) should then be fully convinced, of what he more than suspected, that the President was deeply conscious of being in the wrong in this matter; that he felt the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, was crying from the ground against him; that originally be must have had some strong motive—what it was he would not now step to inquire—for involving the two constraint war, that volving the two countries in war; that, baving that mo-tive, he had trusted to avoid the scrutiny of his own conduct by directing the attention of the nation, by fixing the public eye upon military glory—that rainbow that rises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that charms but to destroy; and thus calculating, had plunged into this war, until, disappointed as to the ease by which Mexico could be subdued, he found himself at last he knew not where.

"Whoever carefully examined this last message would find that, like one in the half issane excitement of a fevered dream, in one place the President said that Mexi-co has nothing but land; in another part, he expects to support the army by military contributions. And again, that the War is waged for the good of Mexico, to prevent foreign interference; that it is for the honor of the nation, and particularly for security for the future. In another place, that, with the exception of territorial indemnity, there is no object for the war; and, after saying this, he proposes that we should take by act of Congress all he saked for indemnity last fall, and the whole province of California besides; take all, according to his own state eut, that we are fighting for, and still to fight on! 1 that was really all he wanted, why did it not occur to him that when we had got it we should stop? He talked like an in-ane man. He did not propose to give Mexico any credit at all for the country we had already conquered;

credit at all for the country we had already conquered; he proposed to take more than he asked last fall, and not give her any credit, but to fight on.

"In another place we are told that we must have indemnity for the expenses of the war. It was strange that it did not occur to the President that it would be a little difficult to get indemnity after the expenses had transcended in amount the whole value of her territory. She had nothing but land, the President told us, and, after we have get all that, where is the indemnity?

"The President says, again, that the national inde-

pendence of Mexico is to be maintained: pendence of Mexico is to be maintained. How to be maintained after we own all her territory? How are we to keep up the national independence, the separate existence of Mexico, after we have taken all her territory? And I at it should be thought by some that he was talking in a speculative and not a practical point, he would say that the President proposed, as appeared from looking at the map, that we should take almost one-half of the Mexican territory; that was the unsettled half, which was certainly worth more than the acticle half. In the unsettled part we could establish lard offices sell the lade and in part we could establish lard offices, sell the lands, and in troduce an American population into the country. But when we came to take the other haif, the land already belonged to individuals, and we could derive little benefit from it; for he believed it was not proposed to kill the Mexican population, to drive them out, to confiscate their lands and their property, or to make them slaves. How, then, could we derive any benefit from the densely settled portion? And if we were already entitled to the best half, how much longer should we prosecute the war before we should be entitled to the worst half? The question, then, was not a speculative, but a practical question, press-ing close upon us; and yet the President seemed never to

have thought of it at all! "Then, sgain, in relation to the mode of prosecuting the securing peace, the message declared that we were to prosecute it more vigorous'y, ustil at last it dropped down in a sort of desponding tone, and told us that the continual success of our arms may fail to secure a satisfactory peace, and perhaps we may wheedle the Mexican people to throw off their culers and adopt our foverment. the Mexican people to throw off their rulers and adopt our Government. And then it concludes that we may fail in this, and goes back to the old thing, and recommends a more vigorous prosecution of the war, which it was admitted might fail to secure the end desired.

"In all this the President showed himself dissatisfied

with the conclusions he had assumed. He took up one suggestion, and tried to argue us into it, but argued himself out of it; he then took up another, and went inrough the same process, and returned to the firs; showing him-self dissatsfied with all, and appearing like a man on a hot shovel, finding no place on which he could actile down. "Again, in relation to the termination of the war, the President nowhere, if he had read the message right, inti-

mated any opinion as to when this war would come to an end. It did not seem to have occurred to him to say any thing about that. Now, if he remembered right, General Scott was thrown in'o disfavor, if not into disgrace, by he same Administration for intimating, when the war com menced, that peace could not be conquered in less than four or five months. It was now more than twenty months before this last message was written; it had been prosecuted most vigorous'y; officers and men had done all that it was thought men could do, and hundreds of things never be-fore dreamed of; and the President, who was so impatient at a veteran officer for having expressed the opinion that it would take at least four or five months, came to Con-gress with a long and elaborate message, in which he did not even express an imaginary conception of his own as to when it would terminate! How is this? Was it not true. when it would terminate! How is this? Was it not true, as he said before, that Mr. Po'k was lost—that he did not know where he was, that he did not know what to do? He was not satisfied with any position. He fergot to take up the points that arose most obviously out of what he did say. All this went to show that he was most completely bewildered, and he (Mr. Lincoln) should be most appy to be assured that there was not something abou this conscience that was more harassing than all his menta

A CORRECTION.

We observe that several of our contemporaries have fallen into a grave misapprehension in regard to the argument made by Postmaster General BLAIR at the Rockville meeting, held on Saturday last; and as our own reproduction of his speech on that occasion shared the typographical errors from which this misapprehension has sprung, we think it just, as well to our readers as to Mr. Blair, that the proper correction should be made in the report of his remarks, to the end that the logic of his argument should not be impaired by the mistakes of the press. There are also some minor typographical blunders, which the intelligence of the careful reader will enable him to detect and correct.

It will be remembered that in unveiling the pretext or secret motive for originating what he calls the "abolition programme of converting States into Territories and carrying them back into colonial bondage, to take law from Congress," he is reported to have spoken as follows:

be sling pol cy of the President ! So far well, and secured the approbation of all well-wishers of the country. The abolition programme shows somewhat o the motive for converting States into Territories and carrying them back into colonial bondage, to take law from Co gress without representation. The reasons assigned are 'slavery (says the programms) is impossible within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government.' For many years I have had this conviction, and have constanty maintained it. I am glad to believe that it is impossile, if not expressed in the Chicago platform. Mr. Chase, among other public men, is known to accept it sincerely. Thus slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; but it the rebel territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of he National Government, then slavery will be impossible the e. In a legal and constitutional sense it will die at once. The air will be too pure for a slave. I cannot doubt but that the great triumph has been already won. The moment that the States fell savery fell also; so that, without any proclamation of the President, slavery has ceased to hear a legal or constitutional existence in every

From the error of the reporter or of the printer, in giv ng currency to this paragraph, it would seem that Mr. Blair was speaking in his own person after the brief citation made from the "programme," indicated by the quotation marks which embrace the words " slavery is impossible within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government," whereas, in point of fact, the quotation marks should embrace all that follows these words in the paragraph as above printed. The readers of Mr. Sumuer's elaborate article in the last number of the Atlantic Monthly on "Our Domestic Relations" will recognise all of the above-cited sentences, in addition to that whose origin is indicated, to be quoted from Mr. Sumner's paper. The whole paragraph as found in that paper is in the following words, which were cited by the Postmaster General merely as giving the assigned considerations of reason and expediency" for adopting the policy in question. To this effect Mr. Sumner writes:

"At the close of an argument already too long drawn out, I shall not stop to array the considerations of reason and expediency in behalf of this jurisdiction; nor shall I dwell on the ineviable influence that it must exercise over slavery, which is the metive of the rebellion. To my mind nothing can be clearer, as a proposition of constitutional law, than that every where within the exclusive juriediction of the Namonal Government slavery is imp s so odious that it can exist only by virtue of positive law lain and unequivocal; but no such words can be found in the Constitution. Therefore, slavery is impossible within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government. For many years I have had this conviction, and have constantly maintained it. I am glad to believe that it is implied, it not expressed, in the Chicago platform. Mr. Chase our public men, is known to accept it sincerely. slavery in the Territories is unconstitutional; but if the rebel territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Government, then slavery will be impossible there. In a legal and constitutional sense it will die at that this great triumph has been already won. The moment that the States fell, slavery fell also; so that, even without any proclamation of the President, slavery had eased to have a legal and constitutional existence in ever

These words were quoted by Mr. Blair for the purpose he indicates—that is, as giving the origin and motive of the policy he deprecates. As a supporter of "the policy of the President," he does not hold that the so-called Seceded States ever " fell," any more than he holds that the President's "proclamation of freedom" was a superfluity, as it must be deemed, if without it and before it slavery, by the fall" of the States, " had ceased to have a legal and constatutional , xistence in every rebel State.'

Brig. Gen. Sherman, who lost a leg at the siege of Port Hudson, has nearly recovered. He is still at Newport and is able to hobble about the streets by the use of

It is estimated that six thousand persons have ascended Mount Washington (N. H.) during the present season.

crutches.